

PEACE NEWS

No. 463 April 27, 1945 2d.

85,000 signed constructive peace petition PRESENTED TO PREMIER

EIGHTY-FIVE thousand British citizens, led by more than a hundred prominent and representative men and women, including MPs of all parties, are signatories to the National Petition for a Constructive Peace, which has now closed for signature and was published on Tuesday.

It has been presented to the Prime Minister and to the British delegates to the San Francisco Conference. It will also be submitted by representative committees in all the larger centres to MPs and candidates before the General Election.

The Petition, which is sponsored by the National Peace Council, asserts that

"a world free from insecurity, injustice and war must be built not on conceptions of exclusive guilt, racial inferiority or preponderant power, but on the principle of the interdependence of all peoples and their common responsibility for the making of a peaceful order," and that "a true security against war and aggression can be provided only by a positive policy which removes the causes of conflict."

It goes on to enumerate seven conditions for an enduring peace, which formed the theme of a series of articles by well-known supporters in Peace News recently.

It is intended to publish final figures and a much fuller report of the Petition Campaign in a special pamphlet to be available in about a month—in time for a big demonstration in the Central Hall, Westminster, on May 30.

No barriers to friendship

A resolution on the ending of hostilities, urging "that so far as is possible the impulses of friendship from man to man be not hindered," and asking "that no barriers shall be placed in the way of free movement across frontiers of individuals seeking the speediest possible restoration of international friendships and of peace," was adopted at the Annual Council Meetings of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (British Section) held in London recently.

Next week's P.N.

Next week's Peace News—a six-page issue—will contain a report (of similar length to last year's) of the PPU annual general meeting, which will be held at Friends House, Euston Rd., London, this week-end.

The pacifist of Hamburg

"**E**ARLY yesterday morning one of our patrols observed what they described as a 'wizened little man on a bicycle', who promptly leapt from his machine and began feverishly unlacing one of his boots. From this he produced a copy of a pacifist pamphlet which he invited his captors to study.

"He was, he explained, the chief of the Hamburg Peace Party, and he had made all arrangements to organize a monster peace demonstration in the city. With that end in view he had 60,000 copies of the pamphlet ready for distribution and he had ridden out to our forward patrols to put a request that Hamburg should not be bombed on the day of the demonstration.

"When asked what was the strength of the Hamburg Peace Party he appeared somewhat crestfallen and replied that it mustered about 200 members."

—Christopher Buckley in the Daily Telegraph, Apr. 20.

BEHIND THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS :

THE CULT OF POWER

Shall it rule the world?

BUCHENWALD AND SAN FRANCISCO: the concentration camp and the conference have shared the headlines with the advance on Berlin, but they have not all equally captured public imagination.

It is understandable. The occupation of Berlin does not mean the end of the war. And, as for San Francisco, although Lord Cranborne said last week that he did not suppose that "there has been any conference, since conferences began, so fraught with immense possibilities for good or ill," the horrors that a third world war would bring are not so much in the forefront of the average citizen's mind as are the horrors reported from Germany.

It is an ironical paradox of our times that the world should suddenly stand aghast with horror more than a decade after this particular atrocity started. Shall we wake up to the abominable demands of modern war ten years too late to stop the next one?

Are they lies?

BUT are these concentration-camp stories true? That is the question some are asking, remembering how war breeds atrocity-stories.

To my mind there is no doubt whatever about the bulk of the reports. The reporters' names are known; they are men not easily fooled. Their own human reactions to the obscene spectacles are revealed clearly enough in their dispatches.

We may deplore the use of the reports to stoke up the fires of hate against the Germans; we may doubt the accuracy of details here or there; we may point out that Germany did not invent concentration camps and that other countries still have them; but we cannot deny the very existence of these foul places. An investigation by trained and neutral observers, however, would help to put the facts beyond dispute.

The Nazis' opponents

BUT the arguments of the hate-mongers are much too superficial: they forget many things.

A Swiss paper, *Weltwoche*, of Zürich, has recalled that Dachau and other camps were set up immediately after Hitler gained power in 1933, and that until the annexation of Austria (1938) and the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia (1939), the inmates were exclusively Reich German opponents of the régime. Further, it was not intended to put foreign workers in them: an order of Himmler's in Oct., 1943, said the Gestapo was "too busy to deal with" obstreperous foreign workers.

The same paper declared that, even in Dachau, despite the terror, conscious and organized work went on for the overthrow of the régime. But, on the whole, the threat of suffering a like fate oneself was sufficient to deter the average German from protesting openly at the cruelty that went on—even if he knew the whole

MIRACLES - AND MONEY!

"**T**O me," writes one of our staunch supporters, "Peace News appears a miracle of journalism, in competition with the immense resources of the 'hate-Press.' . . . Considering the many pitfalls that await the minority Press, you need support."

The tribute makes us blush, though it must be confessed that there are times when we ourselves feel it will be a miracle if the next issue appears on time and in presentable form. But it is true that we need all the support we can get—more readers now, and an adequate reserve to take advantage of the opportunities that the next few years will bring. The reserve in question takes the form of the Peace News Fund.

Contributions since Apr. 13: £17 7s. 1d. Total to date: £5,909 12s. 4d.

THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News 3 Blacklock Rd., N.4.

Commentary

of it, which in most cases it seems he did not.

Would those in Britain who point to this as evidence of equal guilt have behaved very differently themselves in similar circumstances? It is a terrible question to try to answer honestly. And did any of us do all that was possible before the war to rescue Jews and other potential victims? And was responsibility for the conditions in Germany that helped the Nazis to power purely German? Not all the questions can be answered in Germany.

Symptoms elsewhere

JUST as V.1 and V.2 have been a foretaste of what a future war would involve, so these sickening stories from Germany are a solemn warning of what unrestricted power can do within nations when allied with an intolerant creed.

Man has always been capable of devilish cruelty to his fellows, as well as of heroic self-sacrifice. Neither potentiality is limited by frontiers.

"We know and justly denounce Japanese cruelty; what we have not recognized is a corresponding American blood lust which makes souvenirs out of the bones of the slain and drives the saintly Kagawa to denounce 'Occidental' brutality." (Norman Thomas in *Human Events*—a Washington news-letter.)

We may thank God we do not possess a British parallel to Buchen-

wald—but we had better resist the temptation to be self-righteous in our gratitude, for we have our own blind spots. On the same page of *The Times* (Apr. 20) which carried a leader on the prison-camps, appeared an article by its special correspondent in Cologne which said:

"There are simply no words with which to describe the devastation of Cologne, which sprawls in awesome testimony to the destructive power of the perfected bomber."

The Evening Standard (Apr. 17) told how the same power is making "rapid progress" in the destruction of Tokio's "industrial targets . . . block after block crowded with wooden factories." Does one person in a thousand pause to imagine the human misery covered by such reports?

Worship of power

THE trouble with the Germans, said *The Observer* on Sunday, is "a worship of power both by those who rule and those who serve." This idolatry not only lies behind the concentration camps, it threatens to become a dangerous characteristic of our whole civilization. One of our most respected readers puts the root-problem in terms which I imagine will receive wide assent:

"The disease of power-politics at home and abroad seems to me far too deep for any political operation to cure. Only a wholly different conception of power—e.g. 'My power is made peaceful in weakness'—seems to me to meet our increasing human bankruptcy and need."

If the leaders and the peoples of the nations—of one great nation even—could become really conscious of the misery and suffering the continuation of the war is bringing to so many millions, and the desperate need in Europe for all available energies to be turned to the provision of elementary human necessities, the disease might be well on the way to a cure.

The issue at 'Frisco

IN default of such a miracle, we are invited to hope for the best from the San Francisco conference. A con-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

The illusion of victory

by LEOPOLD HUGHMAN

THE Prime Minister's address to the Conservative Party conference on Mar. 15 should be a salutary warning to those who still think in terms of "peace and plenty."

The grimness and horror of war will not vanish as a mist as soon as an armistice is signed: some of the most difficult problems will then begin, and will require many years for their solution.

" . . . There are other tasks," said Mr. Churchill, "which must be added to a stern list . . . Blood, sweat, toil, and tears—there may be less blood and fewer tears. But mental toil and physical sweat, the conscious, united resolve of every man and woman to give all that is in them, will be required from us long after the last bomb of cannon has ceased to thunder. Let there be no mistake about it. It is no easy cheapjack Utopia of airy phrases that lies before us . . ."

"If we look to the future nothing is more clear than that when the war is over the world will face an acute shortage of food for several years."

" . . . Victory lies before us certain and near. But years of cruel torment and destruction have wasted the earth, and victory, with all its trappings, appears to our strained and experienced eyes as a deliverance rather than as a triumph."

Every day that the war goes on adds greatly to these tasks: the policy of "unconditional surrender" implies on the part of the Allied Governments an "unconditional surrender" of the happiness and well-being of the next generation. What is now achieved in a few seconds by the dropping of a ten-ton bomb is such a measure of destruction that will take years of "blood, sweat, toil and tears" to restore.

That cannot be simply brushed aside by saying that it doesn't matter because it's being done to Germany: that they asked for it and it's up to them to stop it by surrendering. Leaving aside the validity or otherwise of such an attitude, we must grasp the fact that the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Europe is a world problem, and only by international co-operative effort can Europe be restored to a condition—

to say the very least—which makes it a fit place for human beings to live in. The Germans have estimated that it will take no less than five years to clear away the rubble of Hamburg. That should be well pondered over, and imagination brought to bear on it.

Hamburg is a town of not only national importance to Germany, but of world importance as a great centre of trade and shipping. It is vitally important to the well-being of Europe that such a port should be in use again as soon as possible, in order to receive the many things for which war-ravaged Europe will be crying out. But obviously the Germans will be unable to rebuild it by themselves, because their productive capacity will no doubt have been brought exceedingly low by the time the war ends, to say nothing of proposals for transporting German workers to rebuild other countries.

Condition of Germany

Germany will have to be rebuilt as soon as possible, in the interests of world peace, if for no other reason. There will be many towns like Hamburg before the war ends: Cologne is now just one of many gigantic heaps of rubble. It needs little imagination to realize the ghastly chaos that would exist in the heart of Europe if most large towns were centres of ruin and famine and disease. No one can take Germany out of her geographical position in Europe; and it surely must be apparent to the Allied leaders that a stable Europe is necessary to the peace of the world, and that stability cannot come until there is a balanced and ordered economic and social life in Germany.

What justification is there then for their failure to proclaim peace terms which might bring the present process of devastating destruction and slaughter to a speedier end? If peace terms had been offered and turned

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RED DAWN?

IT would serve no purpose to recapitulate the disappointments and shocks which Soviet policy—even more secretive and overbearing than Czarist policy—has given to Western sentiment. The most tentative approach to a humane attitude towards the German people in the more responsible British Press is met by virulent abuse from the Russian Press. Even the report that the Allied authorities have circulated instructions to foreign workers in Germany recommending them to return to the farms and secure the spring-sowing, is denounced in violent terms by Ilya Ehrenburg in the Red Star.

If Ehrenburg's extravagances reflect the considered view of Russia's rulers, then any accommodation between the Soviet Union and the liberal democracies would be remote indeed. And until last week it was reasonable to assume that "the unspeakable Ehrenburg" (as Lenin called him) reproduced his master's voice.

Against this background, the injection of some genuine political controversy into the highly disciplined Russian Press is a momentous event. Russians who read both Pravda and Red Star will scarcely be more accustomed than we are to the one contradicting the other. That is precisely what M. Alexandrov does in Pravda. Of Ehrenburg's "Vansittartism" he writes bluntly:

"This viewpoint is wrong. The Soviet people never identified the population of Germany with the criminal fascist ruling clique."

He recalls Stalin's famous words on similar lines. These have been so rarely quoted in Russia recently that they might well have been written off as "political warfare" waged while the fighting war was going badly.

On the immediate controversy pacifists may take heart. Any movement away from the "thinking by categories" which is such a pernicious concomitant of total war is welcome. Any internal opposition to the flamboyant Ehrenburg is, equally, welcome.

But it is possible that there is even more encouragement to be gleaned from the episode. The Russian Press has been a substantial barrier to understanding with the West. Nothing appears in it until Government policy has been safely formulated: then it is chorused with (to us) unnatural re-iteration. Of the currents which are at work in the political stream there is not the slightest indication in advance. This is as unintelligible to us as our democratic habit of exploratory public discussion must seem to the Russians. It is more than a difference of political method: it is the effect of a permitted opposition, the direct consequence of civil liberty.

Even if the row between Pravda and Red Star reflects no more than a difference of opinion between the Party and the Army, still it is healthier than monotonous—and inevitably false—unanimity. Two centres of State power are better than one. If ever there are two hundred distinguishable centres of influence in Russia the problem of accommodation between East and West will be half-solved. Our political languages will become intelligible to each other.

This is a formidable goal to set—although it is doubtful whether anything less can sustain Anglo-Saxon-Russian common purpose through many years of peace. It requires that in one crucial respect an authoritarian State shall cease to be authoritarian: shall achieve that most difficult of tasks, liberalize a despotism from within.

It is, indeed, unattainable unless the ruling group in Russia have both the desire and the self-confidence to attempt it. And of that we can get only conjecture. But it would be a matter for special rejoicing if the first step in that direction were taken in the rebuking of the ultra-nationalist Ehrenburg for his inhuman attitude to the German people.

In the absence of genuine discussion almost any Russian action can be credibly interpreted in mutually destructive ways. A self-respecting Germany is, however, on any count necessary to a peaceful Europe. If someone in Russia now has the assurance to argue publicly on those lines it will provide the most agreeable shock from the Soviet Union since the tide of battle turned.

A Huxley pilgrim's progress

IN another moral onslaught Mr. Aldous Huxley has permitted himself the pleasure of erecting and destroying a number of false gods. His new novel* is obliquely moral by reason of his unsurpassed ability to make vice profoundly wearisome, and directly so because it is the story of a conversion. Mr. Huxley's readers are already familiar with those false gods: the political method of reform, technological progress, and the physical consolations of the world.

We find that a Left-wing reformer, aflame with the cause of justice, and spending himself for all suffering peoples has not the humanity to buy his son a dinner-jacket. And we see him, at the end of his life, bitter against a party that has left him in the ranks without office or any position of authority. This problem of the political organization of the world is the opportunity to quote once more Lord Acton's dictum on power, and Mr. Huxley does not hesitate.

But after his erudition, the creation of the prototype is undoubtedly this writer's strongest point. One marvels at the gusto with which he describes the elderly sensualist, wealthy, obese, of exquisite taste, sunk in a quagmire of the most gorgeous bric-a-brac, his face turned resolutely against the light in life as in death. For he dies, characteristically, in a lavatory, where "there was no air; only a smell of cigar smoke."

The saving grace

However, knowing the technique of the new Huxley, the reader looks beyond this arid waste composed of political futility, "essential shamelessness" and the limitations of the upper middle-class Weltanschauung—looks beyond all this for the saving grace. And not in vain, for there is a bookseller called Bruno who is a man after Mr. Huxley's new heart.

He is enough of a saint to effect the slow conversion of a young poet. Under Bruno's influence the poet sees that two roads only lead out of the unutterable wearisomeness:

"Apotheosis—the personality exalted and intensified . . . And over against apotheosis, deification—personality annihilated in charity, in union, so that, at last the man or woman can say, 'Not I, but God in me'."

He sees, moreover, that "in reality only the second led out into open country." And in the epilogue, which whisks the reader from pre-war Florence to 1944 when the guns are sounding on Primrose Hill, the poet is seen struggling along the road of deification. The epilogue is largely the notebook in which his spiritual reflections are recorded.

To love, know, and seek identification with the Godhead, that is the aim of the spiritual life. Surely this is so—but how? For Huxley it is always and for everybody the direct mystical approach, and it is, of

*Time Must Have a Stop. Chatto & Windus. 9s. 6d.

LETTERS

Pacifists and the Labour Party

I am sorry to disagree with Rosa Hobhouse on the Labour Party.

I have been actively engaged in socialist propaganda for over forty years, during which time I have witnessed a change of tone and emphasis in regard to material and spiritual factors within that propaganda, which at last has appeared to me to be fatal. It is the lack of right relationship between these factors which disturbs me.

I do not regard, and never have regarded, the pursuit of economic justice as "materialistic," and therefore to be decried, but of this I am convinced, that unless we see economic justice as an expression of false values which affects the whole of our society, not only shall we never achieve justice, but such steps towards it as may be made will not result in the social betterment we desire.

One of my most painful and discouraging experiences in recent years has been to witness the wasteful and degrading uses to which big incomes can be put, both in the slums and in high places, due to lack of knowledge and appreciation of spiritual values, of such realities as creativeness, social responsibility, and human dignity arising from the use of the creative faculties, without which physical and spiritual health cannot be maintained. The difference between Rosa Hobhouse and myself arises from the fact that I have come to realize that to divorce material and spiritual factors is fatal.

For these reasons I hold it to be my duty to point out the very grave dangers that are latent in current socialist advocacy. I accept the conception of God as "a good parent" who gives his children bread, but remember also that he taught them that man liveth not by bread alone, as did also the socialism of my earlier days.

WILFRED WELLOCK

12 Victoria Ave., Quinton, Birmingham, 32.

I sympathize with Mr. Wellock, but why is it that he cannot realize that the desire for spiritual betterment is the driving force behind the Labour Party and that their material

by ALAN SHADWICK

course, a valid way. But there is another, and although Huxley is aware of it he has vouchsafed to it no more than a casual passing reference.

In his own words this way is "the indirect, ascending through the hierarchy of material and spiritual manifestations—at the risk, always, of getting stuck somewhere on the way." This is the Dantean way, in a wide sense, the sacramental way, and in the courtly and memorable words of Charles Williams, the way of the affirmation of images.

Redemption

"At the risk of getting stuck." It is a risk that we, who are given unto the world, must take. And if Huxley were to explore more thoroughly the possibilities of the Dantean way it is at least likely that the dichotomy which for him exists between apotheosis and deification, between the artistic and the spiritual life (may we say, between heaven and earth?) would give place to a working relationship ending in reconciliation.

He might realize then that the passion for justice which inspires the poor efforts of the political reformer is but a fragmentary image of part of the nature of God, and so modify an attitude which comes so strangely from a mystic who believes that the only real progress is progress in charity.

To create, to teach, to administer in the light of the Godhead from whom we draw our being, is this possible? Only a saint, Huxley would reply, could do it without contamination, and no doubt he is right.

And he is right to remind us that time must have a stop. But in the



ALDOUS HUXLEY
(Drawn by John Millar)

meantime the work of an imperfect world must be done. Time, however transitory, must be redeemed. It will be redeemed, here and there, every moment, by human beings in various stages of imperfection.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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Dutch children
I am only too pleased to know that, in the fortnight that elapsed between my visit and that of Vera Brittain to the Dutch camp at Hull, so many generous offers of sweets have been forthcoming. I think my letter, like Miss Brittain's, made it clear that the children had plenty of food and were thriving on it; and I am sure that she and I would find ourselves in regretful agreement that, as your paper points out, we are at present unable to help those on "the other side" of the Channel.

LORNA LEWIS

83 Park Mansions, S.W.1.

LETTERS (continued)

Advice to a soldier

We seem to have roused an unexpected hornet's nest. It was not, of course, our intention to condone the vulgar language of the leader (for which apparently the Senior Chaplain was not personally responsible). Rather we wished to discourage overhasty condemnation of the action which lay behind it.

Whether the Church is justified in descending from the language of the Authorized Version to that of the dug-out in order to bring home its argument, we will leave our critics to decide. Having both spent many years professionally engaged in trying to inculcate into the young the use of the King's English we are doubtless prejudiced on the matter!

HAROLD & ELIZABETH BING
"Hollyside," Brockweir, nr. Chertswold, Mon.

The women's share

What, I wonder, is the proportion of women among P.P.U. speakers? So far, according to the records compiled by Public Action Committee, it seems to be about 15 to 100 men. And I have a feeling that it may turn out to be less rather than more when the records are complete.

Are we content with this—and at a time when Food Relief for Europe is one of the most pressing subjects? The Bookshop is piled high with books and pamphlets giving facts and figures about conditions on the Continent. There are women's organizations all over the country prepared to listen to talks on Food Relief and probably also on other subjects on which the P.P.U. has something to say. And at Dick Sheppard House the Public Action Committee is ready with the introductory issue of Speakers' Notes and every other possible help, advice and encouragement that it can give.

The women in the P.P.U. have a pretty good record, but can't we, with the AGM making us realize afresh that we are members of the largest pacifist movement in the world, be willing to bear a little more of the burden of putting its principles and aims before everybody who is willing to listen?

GWYNETH ANDERSON
Dick Sheppard House, W.C.1.

The next generation

The article by Frank Hancock on "Will they be Cannon Fodder?" (P.N. Apr. 13) makes sad reading. Are all our efforts to make a peaceful world doomed to failure? Surely the twilight of humanity is not so close at hand as to make a future generation unthinkable.

The motives of the Government in introducing family allowances might be mixed, but it is up to pacifists to see that their children do not become sons or daughters to die in battle.

It seems the height of benevolence for a war-government to give a subsidy to parents who might rear the future million members of the P.P.U.

HUGH J. CLUNES
Melbourne House, Gold St., Saffron Walden.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Add Malmesbury, covering Cirencester and Tetbury: individual adviser Stanley L. Hockey, 8 Filands, Malmesbury, Wilts.

Palmer Green, Southgate and Winchmore Hill: sec. now Miss D. E. Warne, 9 Berry Close, Winchmore Hill, N.21. (Lab. 4162.)

Central London: Miss Irene Brown now 25 Howitt Rd., Belsize Park, N.W.3.

Paddington: George E. Hurdle now sec. Glasgow & S.W. Scotland Regional Board: sec. now John S. Chalmers at same address.

WHETHER May Day has any special significance for pacifists is a moot point. For some the answer is determined by their political affiliations, but many who are not socialists recognize that it is one of the few international festivals. Except where fascism had perverted it—and perhaps even in those countries—those who celebrated May Day saw its significance, if only dimly. And that is more than can be said of Christmas and Easter.

But, while it is true that May Day is an occasion for emphasizing the unity of men across national boundaries, it is a time also for stressing the divisions within those boundaries. And this is the difficulty which confronts pacifists, who see the wrongness and the danger of divisive

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, P.P.U., Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

politics. Can a policy based on class-struggle help to achieve a society based on the fundamental unity of all mankind?

Some pacifists answer this question with a blunt "No," and refuse to recognize "categories" of men. Others hold that to ignore the fact that classes exist, that they are continually in conflict, and that their interests as classes are ultimately irreconcilable, is, like all refusal to face facts, a hindrance to effective action.

From time to time this problem has affected the work of the P.P.U. Non-violence Committee. Not only has it intervened when specific instances of non-military struggle have been under consideration, but it must obviously influence the study of methods by which radical reforms may be effected against the opposition of an entrenched minority. Clearly, if there is a section of the population in which, by reason of its under-privilege, lies the dynamic of social change, this is a factor which must not be ignored.

The Committee has not yet made a specific study of this aspect of its work, but it has already made one contribution towards a wider discussion by the publication of Con-

stance Braithwaite's controversial pamphlet, "Are Strikes a Pacifist Method?" It is appropriate that it should now announce the publication of a further pamphlet, "The British People Stopped a War," by Donald Port, which by its clear exposition of the essential facts will provide a practical example against which many theories may be tested.

The Labour Movement's opposition to Mr. Churchill's first war of intervention is not an instance of ideal non-violent direct action. There was no understanding of the principles of *satyagraha*, and the rules of "pure" pacifist action were more than once flouted. But a section of the community did succeed in preventing the Government from carrying out a policy which claimed little more than the lukewarm acquiescence of the remainder: and it did so without resort to violence.

The lessons of the action must not be forgotten. This piece of 25-year-old history came near to repeating itself six months ago, and who knows about the next six months? It may be useful to remind our comrades this year that once the British people stopped a war.

RONALD H. SMITH

Allies must shed their faith in war's efficacy

- Mr. Gandhi

"I REITERATE my conviction that there will be no peace for the Allies or the world unless they shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud, and are determined to hammer out a real peace based on the freedom and equality of all races and nations."

So said Mr. Gandhi, in a statement on Apr. 17 on the San Francisco conference. He declared that an indispensable preliminary to peace was the complete freedom of India from all foreign control, and added:

"Peace must be just. In order to be that it must neither be punitive nor vindictive. Germany and Japan should not be humiliated. The strong are never vindictive. Therefore the fruits of peace must equally be shared. The effort will then be to turn them into friends. The Allies can prove their democracy by no other means."

It follows from the foregoing that there will be no armed peace imposed upon the

More than an end to war we want an end to the beginning of all wars.



We want an end to this brutal, inhuman and thoroughly impractical method of settling differences between governments. The mere conquest of our enemy is not enough. Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and to work together in the same world at peace.

—The late President Roosevelt, in an undelivered speech intended to be used at the Jefferson Day dinner.

forcibly disarmed side. Even the maintenance of an international police will be a concession to human weakness and not an emblem of peace.

Mr. Gandhi went on to declare that "the camouflage of Indian representation through Indians nominated by British imperialism should be dropped. . . . Either India at San Francisco is represented by elected representatives or represented not at all."

He quoted from the Congress resolution of Aug. 8, 1942, to show clearly "what free India stands for," and asserted that "the demand for Indian independence is in no way selfish. Its nationalism spells internationalism."

QUAKERS' MESSAGE

The executive committee of the Society of Friends in Britain has presented a statement to all the delegates attending the San Francisco Conference, emphasizing that "the peoples of the world are united not simply by economic circumstance but by the essential spiritual nature of man." "Not by coercion and penalties," says the statement, "will the world be turned from war and competing armaments, but by the single-minded pursuit of the individual well-being of ordinary men and women. . . . Mankind can respond to noble ideals and purposes; it awaits leadership of courage and integrity."

LITERATURE, etc.

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WRITER REQUIRES works by Dostoevsky. State price, edition. D. S. Savage, Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye.

READERS UNION books, out-of-print, mint condition. Send stamp for list, preferably stating wants. Also scarce books and pamphlets on pacifism, war propaganda, etc. Collector, Radcliffe House, Ross-on-Wye.

"LET THE Soldier Speak." What many soldiers think about war. 7d. from Rev. T. Brock Richards, Hough-on-the-Hill, Grantham.

THE WORLD'S Greatest C.O.—Jesus Christ—believed the Old Testament to be the infallible Word of God. We invite you to write to Christadelphians, 28 West Rd., Bedford, Middlesex, for a free book "Vox Dei," stating the logical basis for His belief.

A CHALLENGE to all schools of thought! 4-page pamphlet, "Why I Refused to Bomb," by ex-R.A.F. Flying Officer. Also booklet containing selection of spiritual songs composed whilst in prison. Free on request—Horton, 3 Union St., Bath, Som.

"PACIFISM IN GERMANY" (Dr. Fritz Gross); "Military Victory and Spiritual Surrender" (Ronald Malton); "Hindu-Muslim Problem" (Dr. A. K. Jameson); "Christian Revolution Method" (Norman Robbins); Poetry; "About Youth" (Jennie Ellmore); "Lessons of History" 5d. "Christian Party News-Letter," 5d. Darby Rd., Oldbury, Birmingham.

MEETINGS, etc.

CAMPAIGN Against a Punitive Peace. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., W.C.1, Sun., Apr. 29, 2.45 p.m. "Kameradschaft" (Co-op Film Unit); Finner, Brockway (Editor, New Leader); Walter Padley (author of "Economic Problem of the Peace").

Admission free; collection. London and Southern Counties Division Independent Labour Party.

LONDON FORUM. Director Frederick Lohr, Public lecture by M. Channing Pearce, on "Kierkegaard's Doctrine of Inwardness and the Instant." Apr. 30, The Chancery Theatre, Clareville St., South Kensington, at 7.30. Pacifists and non-pacifists alike welcomed.

LIVERPOOL. "Conscription and Peace." Common Hall, Hackins Hey (off Dale St.), on Fri., May 4, at 7.30 p.m. Speaker, Denis Hayes (Editor C.B.C.O. Bulletin).

DOROTHY EVANS Memorial

Fund: two functions. (1) Sat., May 5, 6.30-9.30, Caxton Hall (Court Room), S.W.1; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Emil Davies, Rebecca Sieff, Edith Summerskill, and others will receive friends and subscribers to the fund. Tickets, including refreshments, 3s. 6d., from D.E.M.C., 14 Dartmouth St., S.W.1. (2) Sun., May 6—see advert. back page.

MIDLAND PACIFIST FELLOW-SHIP: May 6, Selly Oak F.M.H., 3 p.m. Rhys Davies, M.P. "Pacifying Europe."

ROMFORD GROUP, John Barclay on "P.P.U. and Social Revolution," Tues., May 1, 7.35 p.m., 171 Victoria Rd. Come early and bring a friend.

COSMOPOLITAN CIRCLE of Discussion (Convenor: O. David Evans), 6 p.m., Sun., Apr. 29, at Garden Flat, 36 Rosslyn Hill, N.W.8. (Nearest Tube: Belsize Park.) Subject: "Post Mortem on the P.P.U." All interested are cordially invited to attend.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, 404 Camden Rd., N.7, Apr. 29, 6.30 p.m. Bernard Hadley on "Quakers and Relief Service." Discussion. All welcome.

NORTHAMPTON BREAKFAST: Sun., May 6, Friends' Meeting House, Geoffrey Pittcock-Buss, "Pacifism and Anarchy." Hope to see all Group members and friends.

PERSONAL

YOU WILL FIND true friendship in the L. and H.C. Correspondence Club. Send s.a.e. for particulars to Secretary, L. and H.C.C.C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5.

WOULD ANY YOUNG lady pianist offer services to youth club, keep-fit class, weekly. In urgent need. Club Leader, Children's House, Bow, E.3.

WOULD RESPONSIBLE PERSON relieve at small hostel in South for 3 wks./month to enable wardens to take first holiday for 10 years. Box 928.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

MEN WANTED for timber hauling with caterpillar tractors and E.R.F. articulated pole wagons. J. P. Williams, Gobown, Salop.

HELP WANTED on country market garden, pleasant conditions, during summer. Any suggestions amicably considered. High House, Bromsash, Ross-on-Wye.

CLERK, preferably with experience of builders' office, wanted by London firm of Quantity Surveyors. Details from C.B.C.O. Employment Section, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

GUEST HOUSE, mainly for Friends and C.O.s, requires girl for general fund; Tickets, including refreshments, 3s. 6d., from D.E.M.C., 14 Dartmouth St., S.W.1. (2) Sun., May 6—see advert. back page.

VOLUNTEERS WANTED for demolition of bomb-damaged property, to release others for relief service abroad. C.O.s with Civil Defence condition acceptable. For information write I.V.S.P., 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.

CASHER-BOOKKEEPER (male or female) required shortly West London Solicitors. Must know or study Income Tax Practice, Trust accounts and costs. Permanency right applicant. Write age, experience and salary asked to Box 929.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL, EPSOM (9125), needs craftsman to teach woodwork and to be responsible for repairs and maintenance of buildings, etc. Community basis.

CONSCIENTIOUS WORKER required for dairy farm of pedigree Friesians. Good milker. Alternate week-ends off. Lodgings in village. C.O. staff. Manager, Hackwood Farm, Eitchingham, East Sussex.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

PROFESSIONAL Secretarial Service. Duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 84 The Vale, Southgate, N.14. PAL 7386.

ACCOUNTANT writes up traders' books, prepares all forms of account. Income Tax returns, audits, insurance costing, company formation etc. Box 898.

RADIO AND ELECTRICAL repairs—quick work, moderate charges. W. H. Joyce, 17 Leigh Rd., Leyton, E.10.

MISCELLANEOUS

REG. J. BAILEY, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath. Nature-cure treatment of disease.

REGINALD BAILEY, N.C.P., Psychiatrist and Specialist in Eye Treatment (Bates Method), 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

ACCOMMODATION

WE ARE SORRY to inform our friends that we have not any small houses or flats to let at the moment. If anyone is interested in leaving their names with us, we shall be glad to hear from them. McCraith & Brooks, 44 The Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888—3 lines.)

MUSWELL HILL house for sale. 4 beds, 2' reception, kitchen and bathroom. No garage. Lease 56 yrs. G.R. £12. Ground floor let to tenant at 25s. p.w. inc. Top floor available with vacant possession. Tenant of ground floor will possibly leave soon. Near to woods, park, station and shops. Price £4,150. Full details McCraith & Brooks, 44 The Market Place, N.W.11. Speedwell 9888-9.

WELL-FURNISHED BED-SITTER, some companionship, in art teacher's bungalow, offered congenial woman, vegetarian, non-smoker, cultural and outdoor interests. Near station, Byfleet, Surrey. Write fully. Box 911.

PACIFIST WANTS to buy tiny cottage or bungalow, garden, vacant possession. Penzance, St. Ives, Falmouth, Newquay, Torquay areas. Condition immaterial if reasonably repairable and cheap. Box 920.

TO LET. Primitive four-roomed cottage. Disused Mission Hall. Large shed and poultry house. Upper part of stone-built granary. Large garden eurus. Suitable for mushroom cultivation or poultry farm. Adjoining Erldridge Station, East Sussex. Inclusive rental 20s. week. Crawshaw, 11 Earls Rd., Tunbridge Wells.

WANTED, cottage or bungalow on or near coast, South or S.W. district. Rent or buy. Box 922.

WANTED TO RENT or purchase.

Remote farmhouse or large cottage, preferably with outbuildings. Land up to 5 acres. Lake District. Devon. Cornwall, Wilt., Hampshire. Box 927.

STOKE PARK mistress desires good accommodation in Coventry. Box 923.

C.O. AGED 27 requires accommodation with board, or cooking facilities. Surbiton, Esher, Kingston area, or within easy access. Box 924.

CENTRAL LONDON AREA. Pacifist hospital worker seeks single room urgently. Board if suitable. Box 925.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and E. S. Ludlow, The Briars Crich, Matlock, (Station) Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.

SELSEY. Rushmore Guest House. Comfortable. Homely. 200 yards from sea. From three guineas. Groups catered for. Victor Smith (Manager) for Stephen Stoner & Co. Ltd.).

HOLIDAY CARAVAN to let. Field. Sussex. May, June, July, Sept. 15 Monmouth Close, Welling, Kent.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

FRENCH AND GERMAN. Special terms to P.N. readers. Child, L.L.A., F.I.L., L.C.C., and Berlitz teacher, 98 Kensington Church St., W.8.

FOR SALE & WANTED

BURLS the "conscientious" cycle maker for your new cycle, repairs, and accessories. 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15. New Cross 4120.

C.O. WANTS watches, clocks, any condition. State price, cash by return. Vinall. "Chalet," Bishopstow, Devon.

LAND & COMMUNITY

YOUNG MAN, single, desires partnership in market-garden or small-holding. Willing to give two months' trial in return for good home and a small remuneration, before deciding upon partnership. Box 926.

More news of Kagawa

Jailed many times

MORE information about the anti-war activity of Toyohiko Kagawa, the world-famous Japanese Christian, has become known in answer to a charge, made by an Australian radio commentator, that Kagawa is a Japanese spy.

The information, collected by the War Resisters' International HQ in Britain, and published in a pacifist monthly in Melbourne, includes this statement by a reliable correspondent in the USA:

"I knew Kagawa well from 1916, when I first went to Japan. . . . After Pearl Harbour until our evacuation, I knew about him and his activities from the majority of the foreign population, who were, like my wife, free in the city of Tokyo. When the 'Gripsholm', diplomatic evacuation ship, made its second trip to evacuate Americans from Japan and elsewhere, and when it brought more of my friends back from Japan in December last year, I heard even more about Kagawa."

"He has been warned by the police and gendarmerie repeatedly. He has been imprisoned time and time again for his anti-war statements and 'subversive activity'. One of the more recent occasions upon which he was incarcerated was for a period of three weeks in the spring of 1941. Every address he makes is based upon the implications of utter abhorrence for war and intrigue."

"Aside from the complete integrity of his personality, his activities (preaching, lecturing, rural evangelism, writing, work for the Co-operatives that he has established, establishing of churches, etc.) absorb so completely his waking hours that spy-work would be a physical impossibility."

"He is one of the world's great Christians."

"GRILLED" FOR HOURS

In another statement Dr. C. W. Iglehart, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, recalls how, on the way to the Madras Conference in 1938, Kagawa preached at a service on board ship to an almost entirely Japanese congregation:

"He preached so Christian a sermon in relation to the utility and evil of war (Japan then was at war with China), and the universal regnancy of Christ, that after the service two men who had been sitting in the back of the room called him out and took him down to the steerage quarters for a rigorous examination. They were detectives who had been planted on the ship, and had come all the way from Yokohama to check on his utterances. Late in the afternoon he re-appeared on deck, after a grilling of many hours."

Objection upheld

When Ella Read, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, appealed to the Northern Appellate Tribunal on Apr. 11 against a condition of registration requiring her to take up land, hospital, or canteen work, it was explained that she had registered in advance of her age-group as she wished to take up work as secretary to Patrick Figgis, PPU General Secretary, feeling that that would be a greater service than her present work for a trade union.

Denis Hayes, on her behalf, stated that the applicant objected to any form of conditional exemption as she felt she must be free to make what seemed to her her best contribution to society.

After some discussion the tribunal retired and the chairman, Sir Edward Stubbs, later announced that Ella Read would be registered unconditionally.

Commentary

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

tinuous public debate in the Press has been paralleled by debates in both Houses of Parliament (Apr. 17).

Broadly, two schools of thought emerge: the "realists" (including official spokesmen and The Times), who urge that we must put up with whatever compromise is necessary to get a World Security Organization which USA and USSR will join; the "idealists," who argue that the way out of international anarchy is to begin to establish an order of justice and law, and that to compromise to the point of violating these principles is to destroy the whole purpose the world organization ought to serve.

The first school is bewitched by the power of the Big Three; the second includes many who admit that this power is a fact, but insist that it cannot be made the basis of the new organization, as the "realists" desire.

The power of veto

THE issue is crystallized in the proposal that the permanent members of the Security Council shall have the power of veto, thus preventing action against themselves, or against any small satellite Power.

The debates in Parliament showed widespread dislike of this proposal. Some MPs argue that even if the right to veto decisions had to be

THE ILLUSION OF VICTORY

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

down, a case could be made out for the continuance of hostilities to the "bitter end," but in the absence of such an offer, all we are doing by continuing the war is cutting our own throats.

We shall have to help in the rebuilding of Europe: it must be done, and Allied help will be badly needed. So what we are now doing is creating chaos in Europe and making gigantic tasks for ourselves to tackle. We don't seem capable of dealing with our own comparatively small housing problem, and yet we are daily increasing such a problem of housing and rehabilitation that the world has never known.

If the war stopped tomorrow, there would be an incredibly difficult task before the Allies: and each day the war goes on that task is being increased enormously. A whole town can now be wiped off the map in a day: but it cannot be rebuilt in a day.

In December, 1940, I heard a speech in London by John Middleton Murry and I recollect the grim prophecy he made on that occasion of the miseries to come, and of his forebodings about Mr. Churchill's leadership. "When I heard that Mr. Churchill was to be Premier," said Mr. Murry, "I said to myself 'This is the beginning of the end.'"

The end is upon us: let us see to it that we have men of imagination and human understanding to make a new beginning.

BRISTOL P.P.U. MAKES PLANS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

MEETING for a discussion with Alan Mister (organizer, Devon and Cornwall and Western Area) and Donald Port (National Development Officer), key members of the Bristol PPU recently decided on action to be taken locally in connection with the General Election.

A series of open-air meetings on "Constructive Peace," which the National Peace Council was to be asked to organize, would receive strong backing, and PPU members would also be encouraged to cross-question the various candidates on their attitude to peace-time military conscription, the peace-settlement and other relevant issues.

It was also thought that candidates' statements on these issues might be brought together on a leaflet for widespread distribution.

Discussing its large signatories list, the meeting decided to encourage the Central Group to forgo its regular Wednesday meetings in order that all members should devote their time to checking.

This meeting was the last in a series which Alan Mister and the Development Officer jointly attended. Others were held at Exmouth, where the group is to be reformed, Plymouth, where a meeting on military conscription is

The outlook at San Francisco

accepted, Britain must insist that the veto shall not be able to apply to the possibility of future amendment of the new world set-up. Said Mr. Harold Nicholson:

"You may admit that certain misfortunes are unavoidable but when you proclaim that they are unavoidable and actually put them into a charter of world organization . . . you are sinning against the light . . . Call it the United Nations if you like but do not talk about charters and moral preambles and things like that."

Even with the veto, however, the Security Council will not necessarily be useless, as Mr. Richard Law, replying to the debate, explained:

"To judge from some of the speeches today one would have thought that a world organization for security was only doing a job when it was fighting a war. A great many critics have complained that, in fact, the veto would prevent the Security Council from taking extreme action in a crisis. But it is the purpose of the Security Council, first of all, to try to avoid a crisis, to try to reach a settlement by negotiation, by understanding, by agreement, and the question of the veto does not in any way enter into that side of its work."

Fear of Russia

THE whole situation lies under the shadow of a big question-mark: Russia. There are many in Britain and America who fear and distrust Russia. Whether Stalin fears Russia's war-time partners I do not know, but the record of the years 1917-1940 gives him no reason to trust them very far.

Russia's treaty with the "Lublin" Provisional Government, and the con-

DO PEOPLE MATTER?

THE BBC have been recently broadcasting a series of sermons on the subject "People Matter." I was recently very forcibly struck by some words which were spoken at the end of one of these sermons: "We must keep the human aspect in our mind when we think of other countries. . . . What about the people there? People matter." I was particularly struck because I had been reading, only a few moments before, the following account of an Allied raid on Berlin, in Newsweek of Feb. 19, 1945:

"It was like the end of the world."

"That was the way Swedish refugees evacuated from Berlin last week described the 2,000-ton American air-raid on Feb. 3. Still seared by the ordeal, the Swedes told how the bombs took a terrible toll among the throngs of refugees who jammed the city. One thought the Americans were using a new type of explosive: 'People were killed in air-raid shelters scores of feet away from the nearest craters. These bombs seemed to have a fantastically wide blasting effect. Descriptions of death by air pressure spread like wildfire through the city.' After the raid, victims were buried in the streets or cremated where they fell."

"The air attack completed the destruction of . . . Berlin . . . What was happening in Berlin was almost beyond parallel in the history of modern cities. Still inhabited by some 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 human beings—nobody knew quite how many—it was literally dying."

But I had just heard a well-known cleric say that we must keep the human aspect in mind when considering other countries. Is Germany not another country, but simply one vast rat-hole? Or do her people, including

any foreigners resident there, just "not count" as people?

Do the preachers of such sermons wish us to keep in mind a vivid picture of what actually is happening in Berlin and other heavily-bombed cities—the shattered human bodies, screaming children, people burned, suffocated, buried, mad with terror and pain; civil defence workers toiling heroically amidst the havoc wrought by our 200-mile long processions of bombers with their many thousand ton bomb loads? I for one, should go raving mad if I had to keep that vision in mind for long.

It is hard not to feel a grave measure of hypocrisy in this series of broadcasts, when in at least one direction the Government is pursuing such ruthless policy; or, if not hypocrisy, at the very least appalling blindness and lack of imagination—especially in connection with what are likely to be the future results of their policy.

For those of us who passionately believe that people do matter—everywhere, in every land, including so-called "enemy" countries—it should surely be a matter of grave concern as to how best we can show our sense of shame and repentance at what is being done—how most effectively protest against this fearful "massacre of the innocents," even as we also rightly protested against the bombing of civilians in this country. Especially for those of us who dare to call ourselves Christians and try to follow the King of Love—how can we show our pity for these victims of war's madness?

"A pity beyond all telling is hid in the heart of love" (Yeats). I wonder how other readers of Peace News feel that we can best positively show our pity and prove our faith that **PEOPLE DO MATTER?**

A.E.H.

NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

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CEASE FIRE

IN EUROPE

-AND THEN?

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Dr. GEORGE MACLEOD, M.C.

Leader of Iona Community

Prof. TOM FINNEGAN

Magee University, Londonderry

Chairman:

CORDER CATCHPOOL

Public Meeting arranged by the

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